1: Karsten--183-184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 571, 592, 611, 621 (1928-29)

"From the statements I have previously made as to the distribution of the Jibaro tribes it appears that their social organization is loose. In fact, the whole people is split up into a great number of tribes which in their turn are sub-divided into smaller clans or septs comprising a few families closely related to one another by blood. These sub-tribes do not form village communities; each family inhabits its own big communal house (hēa), but these are not situated close to one another, they lie scattered here and there in the virgin forest. Generally one has to march for one or several hours to arrive at the next house. Each Jibaro house forms in fact a separate and independent social, political, and economic unit with its own household, its own plantations in the vicinity of the house, and its own ruler or chief, the oldest family father who, at any rate in time of peace, is not controlled by anybody. It is much the same feature that we meet in other parts of tropical South America, where the impenetrable virgin forests necessarily lead to social disintegration, which is further increased by the general anti-social tendencies of the Indians. The state of things found among the Jibaros, however, is in many respects unique.

Their society is thus based on the family and the blood tie. Only such sub-tribes as recognize some sort of consanguinity display a feeling of solidarity: the rest, although they speak the same language, are looked upon, not only as outsiders, but as downright natural enemies, a feature which will be further illustrated in the part dealing

with their wars. It is as a rule between the different sub-tribes that the wars of extermination have occurred.

Still, as appears from their history, there have been occasions when they have been able to overcome the natural antipathy separating them from one another, and to unite against a common enemy. This common enemy has been the white man, who has so often threatened [184] the liberty of the people; but the alliances, such as that for instance in 1599, have been exceptional and wholly due to the influence of a single, eminent personality."

1: Karsten--251 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 565, 621 (1928-29)

"Since there exists no society in the strict sense of the word apart from the family, it is natural that social classes, distinctions between fich and poor, etc, are also non-existent, like the distinction between rulers and ruled. If we may speak of a 'government', it is a purely patriarchal one, the head of the family and the owner of the house being at the same time the 'chief' of this small community, theoretically even with absolute power. It is of particular interest to see how he exercises this power in practice."

2: Stirling--42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 628, 621

"The fighting which constitutes the normal war pattern of the Jivaros consists of a never-ending cycle of blood-revenge feuds which may vary in extent all the way from an individual murder by a single man from ambush to desperate struggles of extermination in which several hundreds may be involved. There appears to be a difference, however, between the numerous assassinations which take place and the more formalized raids on distant groups which may more properly be termed warfare. It is typically in the latter instance that heads are taken and tsantsa ceremonies performed.

A good description of the methods used by the Jivaros in fighting against Spaniards is to be found in the account of the Vaca expedition in 1692. (58) The Spaniards complained that the Indians, instead of standing their ground in close formation so that they could be effectually shot down, preferred to scatter through the brush and reappear at unexpected times and places, attacking from ambush.

Although on some occasions considerable numbers of Jivaros unite for the purpose of war raids, or in defense against attack from invaders, their decentralized manner of living makes this rather difficult. Living as they do in individual houses, each containing a few families at most, and separated one from the other by considerable distances, there is no concentration of population at any one place such as would tend to produce large engagements."

"58. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

10: Anthony--147 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 592, 621

"The Jivaros are a tribe of warriors and hunters, and devote but little attention to the cultivation of the soil. They live in small, scattered communities located on the rivers, and raise a little cotton and such things as yuca or cassava. Although they recognize a captain or chief, his authority appears to be largely nominal. He exerts but little influence upon the members of the tribe. As a result the communities are controlled by the heads of the families and the system may, perhaps, be best described as patriarchal. The father of a family is a responsible member of the community and his relatives aid him in offensive compaigns or rally to his defense."

12: Rivet--611-612 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 621, 555

Among the Jívaro there are no real social groups nor the least embryo of government. Each Indian is absolute master of his own affairs, acts individually and depends on no one. He associates with his neighbors only for feasts, big hunts, big fishing parties, and war; these temporary associations leave him his complete personal liberty of action.

In other words, the tribe is only a group of allied and [612] often related families ready when necessary to give each other aid and assistance. The chief of this group is the one who by his endurance, his skill, his intelligence, his courage and also by luck imposes himself on the individuals of the neighborhood. His authority rests only on a tacit assent, carries no exterior emblem or sign, and in no case is transmitted by heredity to his descendants. His role is limited to the coordination of individual efforts in special circumstances. In times of peace he has no longer any special attributes. Occasionally, a peril or a common hate make allies of neighboring tribes, but these alliances are only temporary.

These continual visits, in spite of the often considerable distance between houses, constitute the bond which unites the scattered members of the tribe. There is one other; the tunduli, that curious instrument whose presence I have noted in every habitation, the sound of which is heard for 15 kilometers around. The only comparison we could make would be to bells in our country. As they do, it announces death, joy or danger. It is by this means that an attacked Jívaro can demand aid and help from his allies. Even more, it constitutes a veritable telegraphic system. The spaces between the openings make different sounds when struck, and according to the interval between them on their tone, these sounds take on very precise meanings to the savage. Missionaries have noticed many times the incredible rapidity with which news travels by this means through impenetrable forests. The tunduli takes the place very well in the Jívaro country of the fires used by certain people (1).

1. Simson. op. cit., page 387. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

12: Rivet--613-614 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 621, 157, 164

In spite of their apparent isolation the Jívaro live socially; but up to the present time they have put up great resistance against grouping themselves in villages. It must be said that this repugnance can be explained not only by the desire for independence which is so well developed in them, but also by the fear of the diseases brought in by [614] the whites, especially smallpox which breaks out in fatal epidemics in Indian groups.

28: Tessman--343 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 614, 621

The Chiwaros are not subdivided into sibs proper, but many groups must be distinguished, groups that originated from war conditions and and that are named after their leaders, i.e., people of so and so. These groups have not yet had a principal influence upon the social structure of the tribe, though eventually they may have such an influence, especially if the group segregation becomes a permanent one.

" TABLE III

Cohesion Within Each Geographical Group

Group	Choices per capita per members of in-group
Patuca	21.00
Yurupaca	9.50
Yaupi	10.66

This centripetal tendency is graphically demonstrated in the Charts II, IV and VI. If we for instance take Chart VI, the I (the number of individuals in the in-group) is 3 (IIa, VI6D, and V123D), O=16, * Ci=26, Co=16, and Ca=6. The result according to the formula:

$$\frac{16(6+26)}{3\times 16} = \frac{512}{48} = 10.67\text{"}$$

* Not indicated on the graph.

"The overlapping of the answers of the male and female adults was studied in one geographical group, the Patucas. The result is shown in Table VII. As seen, the correspondence is almost perfect. Whether this holds true for all the geographical groups, and whether the women to women patterns correspond with those for men, only further research can demonstrate. It seems, however, likely that the men's opinion in the present matter to a large extent determine the women's also in other groups. This is supposed not because of a complete submission of the women--which is far from true--but because of the strict division of labor and interests between the sexes. Formation of alliances and actions against enemies are part of the 'politics' and as such belong exclusively to the masculine sphere.

Eventually an attempt was made to determine the relation between repulsions and geographical space. As already has been pointed out (Part I, pp. 6-7), great hostility exists between the different geographical groups. In order to ascertain the degree of hostility all male individuals of the three previous groups (Patuca, Yurupaza, Yaupi) and of another Jibaro group, otherwise not dealt with in this study, the Huambizas, living farther down the Santiago River, were interviewed about their feelings toward the [105]members of their respective out-groups. The number and percentage of individuals in each group answering that all the members of the other geographical

groups were enemies are indicated in Table VIII, column I. The figures for those who answered that one or more individuals from the other groups were friends are given in column II in the same table."